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A Case Study Based on a Spontaneous Discourse of Greek-Hungarian Bilinguals in Respect of Interjections, Swear Words and Syntactical Mistakes, as Regards Gender

Gender linguistics clusters data in connection with the application of diverse modalities – computerized communication, speech, writing, literature, spontaneous manifestations – used by the two sexes via various channels, in diverse cultures, subcultures and public life.² It unifies the knowledge of the two sexes' language use, regarding sciences and disciplines like: anthropology, geography, psychology, sociology and medicine. Gender linguistics does not only highlight the linguistic discrepancies, but also their roots i.e. religion, demography, anatomy and cultural anthropology.³

This linguistic discipline managed to prove that the communication of males and females differs on diverse linguistic levels such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, pragmatics, and communicative strategy.

Originally, when embarked upon my overall research based on gender linguistics, I wondered, what the basic linguistic diversities that linguists highlight, concerning gender bound discrepancies are. I have found, that the following levels and aspects are generally emphasized as distinguishing features between women's and men's language use: the occurrence of interruption, overlap, question tag, minimal response, compliment, disfluency phenomena, interjection, imperatives, gossip information, topic change, problem solving, swear and taboo words, „empty adjectives”, and non-standard grammatical elements i.e. syntactical mistakes. I analysed all these elements, together with fast speech sequences in both my monolingual, and bilingual corpora, through almost a 100 page long transcription. The discrepancies are on wide scale in gender linguistic literature, yet, let me linger only on the gist of these linguistic diversities, just in nutshell, and continue with the results of my research.

Considering phonological opposition in chukchi language, we find that males pronounce the words: “nirak”, and “rerka”, females pronounce them as “nizak” and “zerka” meaning “two” and “walrus”. In the Bengali language, when women use the initial /l/ sound, men use the initial /n/ sound.⁴

As far as phonetics is concerned, the vibration of males is 80–140 Hz, whilst, females produce 160–260 Hz during speech. This diversity is due to anatomy, biology, the length of vocal cords, hormones, the use of larynx, cultural and social learning procedures.⁵ Women use richer sentence phonetics devices, they have more musical and colourful voice, and use wider melody scheme.⁶ In Cairo, when males produce /t/ and /d/ sounds, females use their palatal variants i.e. /ty/ and /gy/.⁷ It is also well-known, that females incline to follow the norms of phonetics, moreover, they adapt to the linguistic market. Most of them join call centres, where

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² ÜRMÖSNÉ 2014.

³ HUSZÁR 2009.

⁴ ÜRMÖSNÉ 2015.

⁵ KASSAI 1998.

⁶ NEWTON 1995.

⁷ ROSENHOUSE 1998, 123–151.

standard pronunciation is the professional requirement, therefore, they soon become the “technicians of language”.⁸

On morphological level, the Yana and the Chiquito male Indians add one more suffix to the word, in case they talk to their same sex. For instance, if they talk to a woman, they say “ba” for the word “deer”, instead of “bana” which they would say to another male. According to Sapir, this phenomenon refers to the females’ lower status within the community.⁹ In Bolivia the Chiquito males use the “tii” affix if they talk about men, yet, this strategy is missing from the females’ speech.¹⁰ In the Hindi language, the interlocutors refer to the sex of the speaker by the personal suffix. Interestingly enough, the eunuch of the transgender hijras choose the personal suffix in accordance with the current appearance, or the dress of the interlocutor.¹¹ In respect of diminutive suffix, the Tunis Arabic language applies it in a diverse function regarding men and women. Males use the diminutive suffix for diminutive function, whilst, women tend to use it for familiar-affectionate register.¹²

In the framework of syntactical mistakes and the usage of nonstandard language, *Jennifer Coates* made a research, in which she analysed the non-standard morphological and syntactical attributes in the communication of Cheshire adolescents. Her research reveals, that the boys, without exception, used the non-standard elements in higher percentage in every case, than girls. The grammatical elements in focus were the usage of: „has”, „was”, „-s”, „never”, „what”, „do”, „come”, and „ain’t”.¹³ *Edina Eisskovits*, focused on the frequency of non-standard past tense, and the invariable „don’t” among adolescents, living in the worker area of Sydney. As it was unveiled from her results, the usage of the latter, was undoubtedly gender specific among males.

As far as communicative strategies are concerned, *West* and *Zimmermann* recorded 31 conversations in cafés, pharmacies, and the campus of the University of California. 10 conversations were recorded between 2 women, 10 between 2 men, and the rest 11 were carried out in a mixed way. The result of the research shows, that males produced 9 overlaps, and 46 interruptions, while this ratio was 0:2 in respect of females. Note, that males interrupted each other less frequently.¹⁴ During mixed conversations, males frequently deprived females of their rights to talk. Males’ minimal response was postponed. Such minimal responses like: “mhm” or „yeah”, could be indicative in respect of active attention. Males used these reactions only after a short interval, which might refer to less interest and support.

Considering gossip information, several people have the stereotype of women, conveying more gossip information, than men. Professor *Nicholas Emler* analysed the discourse of 300 people from the aspect of gossip, and found, that the examined population spent 80% of their entire day with gossiping, regardless their sex. He also highlights that males convey twice as much gossip information as females, as opposed to stereotypes.¹⁵

According to *Szili*, the least compliments derive from males towards another male, they rather use verbal quip, or mockery.¹⁶ Compliments are used among people with the same status,¹⁷ moreover it may enhance harmony as well.¹⁸

⁸ ECKERT 1999, 185–201.

⁹ SAPIR 1921.

¹⁰ JESPERSEN 1922.

¹¹ HALL 1997.

¹² ROSENHOUSE 1998, 123–151.

¹³ COATES 1993.

¹⁴ COATES 1993.

¹⁵ EMLER 1994.

¹⁶ SZILI 2004, 265–285.

Focusing on stylistic diversities concerning gender, *Milroy* made a research among 5–7 year old kids. His study revealed, that boys, in order to achieve their aims, behaved in a tyrannical and superior way. As opposed to this, girls resorted to such mitigating strategies, like avoidance techniques, compromise, submission and negotiation. They were willing to maintain the interpersonal harmony, mainly by using the imperative of “let’s”.¹⁹ *Caja Thimm* concentrated on the communication between the two genders during discourse, recorded at four firms. She analysed the frequencies of strategies in respect of male and female heads of department, like interruption, criticism, insisting on a viewpoint and the amount of speech. She also highlighted tag questions, less possibilities for utterances, slower tempo of speech, and hesitations. As her results indicated, males used three times more directives towards females of the same status on meetings. Females produced more minimal response, and hedges, moreover, used more self-corrections than males. Females verbalised their attentiveness, applied more feedback strategies, metacommunication phenomena, and motivational schemes.²⁰

The Focus, Novelty and the Objectives of my Research

The focus of my comprehensive research is the comparison of the discourse of monolinguals, and Greek-Hungarian bilinguals, in respect of gender. I have fulfilled this research, by collecting and analysing empirical data in order to justify that people living in bilingual environment have better adaptability, which is also manifested concerning gender.

The novelty of the theme is, that vast sums of gender linguistic researches have highlighted the speech behaviour of monolinguals, therefore, I reckon, that the linguistic analysis of bilinguals, from the aspect of gender, is worthwhile. Studies about Greek minorities are in low number, especially in Hungary, not to mention, that Greek bilingual minorities, analysed from gender linguistic aspects are not on a wide scale either.

My comprehensive analysis comprises the fast speech-process, as well as the lexical, and the syntactical levels. It also embraces the communicative strategies, and the frequency of non-standard grammatical elements. As regards communicative strategies, I touched upon interruption, overlap, question tag, minimal response, compliment, hedges, interjection, imperatives, gossip information, topic change and problem solving in both the monolingual, and the bilingual corpora, in respect of gender.

In the present study, I intend to share the results of my research, referring mainly to the Greek-Hungarian bilinguals, yet, I will also make some hints about the results of the monolinguals in order to conceive the discrepancies much better.²¹ When referring to the results of my analysis, I focus only on interjections, swear words and syntactical mistakes.

The objective of my research is to get a picture of the speech behaviour form of both genders after analysing the mono and the bilingual corpora, so as to prove, that the two genders use diverse communicative strategies, which is more striking in case of monolinguals. According to my expectations, and hypothesis these discrepancies will occur less in case of the bilinguals, since they are more flexible and tolerant individuals, than the monolinguals.

This research is rather qualitative, than quantitative, therefore, the number of the participants is low, though, the analysis is on a wide scale. I did not choose the survey based questionnaire method, because it does not reflect the real language use, according to some researchers, yet it

¹⁷ WOLFSON 1989.

¹⁸ HOLMES 1988, 20–44.

¹⁹ COATES 1993.

²⁰ JUHÁSZ–KEGYESNÉ 2011.

²¹ SIMON 2012.

conveys the multilevel reflections of the people, being questioned in connection with their language use.²² The spontaneous speech sequences may contribute to provide more realistic, delicate and authentic picture, than the euphemized or hypercorrect, less explicit speech manifestation. It is well-known, that the most important linguistic data are provided by the uninhibited float of speech among friends and family members, since, this is the language which is used when people are not being watched. According to the research program of linguistic changes and variants, the most important data of linguistics are the results deriving from everyday, spontaneous speech, which are recorded by Dictaphone, or video.²³ The principal of suitable data requires the analysis of data, having been recorded in natural speech environment.²⁴ A remarkable linguist is capable of wheedle, uninhibited communication, lest he should use a hidden microphone. Recording is ethical only in such cases when the individuals participating in the research make their subsequent approval.²⁵

The Analysed Corpus and the Circumstances

The analysis of everyday discourse cases is timely and it fits the current stance of the development of linguistics, since most of our present guidelines analyse the linguistic questions embedded in culture and society. There is a strong necessity for analysing everyday, spontaneous discourse, because there are lots of sentences, generated by linguists, in many corpora, which have little relevance to real language use.²⁶ Nowadays, the representatives of quantitative sociolinguistics gaining ground reckon that the entities of language (phonemes, morphs, lexis, sentences) are such variables, whose combination facilities, are not only determined by the linguistic elements being attached to them, but also by the social circumstances i.e. gender, age, education, social class, occupation, settlement, ethnicity and diverse factors as well.²⁷

In my research, I analyse one variant, namely, the linguistic discrepancy between genders, irrespective from the social class of the participants of my research. Being spontaneous is the characteristic feature of our everyday discourse. Day by day, we keep in touch with people deriving from diverse social and educational background in different situations. Since we daily contact various individuals, I considered it vital not to choose the participants of my research from the aspect of social status, in order to preserve real-life candid situations. The most substantial criteria for me were their gender and their friendly relationship. I presumed, that their similar interest and the fact, that they were friends, would conclude smooth, informal float of discourse. Five, Greek-Hungarian individuals –two women and three men– participated in my research as regards bilinguals, and also five Hungarian monolinguals, yet this study is meant to focus on the results of the bilingual corpus in nutshell. When analysing the five bilinguals, I divided the data into two groups, in respect of gender. More divisions would not have caused representative results, regarding the low number of participants. The question: „why only 5–5 participants were represented in the research” can easily crop up. It is primarily because the monolingual discourse had previously been recorded in a car, where maximum 5 people were permitted to sit, secondarily, their interruptions, overlaps and parallel speech are easier to follow, than that of 7 or 10 participants. As they were stationary, both in the car and the restaurant as well, the constant float of speech sequences could easily

²² TERESTYÉNI 2003, 314–322.

²³ LABOV 1988, 159–182.

²⁴ KONTRA 2003.

²⁵ LABOV 1984, 43–70.

²⁶ DOBOS 2006, 165–178.

²⁷ DOBOS 2006, 165–178.

be recorded by Dictaphone. Their age was over 25 and the individuals were in good relationship with each other. It is well-known, that the Greek are very explicit during food consumption among friends, therefore, they smoothly communicated and related anecdotes. Although, the number of the participants is not representative as a counterbalance, I recorded another 2 hour, 52 page long transcription for my bilingual corpus, and I made a qualitative, comparative processing of data on several linguistic levels concerning gender. The participants gave their consent, concerning the Dictaphone recording, the subsequent data processing, and they were aware of the fact, that the recording of their voice will be represented in my research. I have chosen spontaneous speech sequences because the recording provides more exact and explicit picture of oral language use, since, in the framework of informal discourse, contact phenomena and language variants can also be kept tab on diverse linguistic levels. A questionnaire solely collects restricted pieces of information about the real life language use, and the informants' admitted answers do not substitute the patterns of spontaneous language use.²⁸ According to *Bernstein's* hypothesis, a spontaneous discourse, as opposed to the unilateral, formal data presentation, interviews and questionnaires, takes the variants depending on the speech situation into consideration, it creates real life situations, and it does not yield artificial, sophisticated situational task. Furthermore, it is substantial to know that the data deriving from formal tests, provide primary data for the judgement of linguistic skills, and the analysis is based on restricted number of social terms (such as language use in school) in many cases.²⁹ The monumental, representative questionnaires with their closed sequences of questions may be advantageous because they are quantitative, and repeatable, however, they can be considered as patterns of the informants' invariant language use, related to the given situation.³⁰ It is also obvious what kind of social meanings are attributed to the codes of the speakers, during recording. In this case, the interview and the questionnaire, could only be complementary.³¹

Methods

After recording the 2-hour-long discourse by Dictaphone, I transcribed the material. Having been a participant observer, it was easy for me to infiltrate into the situation, since I had a friendly relationship with the participants. With the contribution of this field-work technique, the observer effect can be diminished and as a consequence, I could manage to obtain more delicate picture of the informal part of the bilingual repertory. The participant observation provides subtle analysis about the spontaneous linguistic behaviour with the contribution of the spontaneous speech sequences, which is the genre of the spoken language. In addition, the shift of style through cultural scope can easily be followed through sequences.³² The deeper familiarization with the bilinguals was outstandingly essential for me to understand their cultural identity, and their code switchings. It was indispensable to reveal their affection to Hungarian and Greek language, and to map the circumstances of their settling down. Primarily, I elaborated my own questionnaire, and subsequently, I used the authentic "Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire", compiled by the Northwestern Bilingualism and Psycholinguistics Research Laboratory,³³ which sequences of questions were translated into Hungarian for my bilingual participants.

²⁸ KISS 1995.

²⁹ KISS 1995.

³⁰ BARTHA 1999.

³¹ FASOLD 1990.

³² BARTHA 1999.

³³ BLUMENFELD-KAUSHANSKAYA 2007, 940–967.

The Participants of the Research

The Greek-Hungarian participants of my research formed a group of friends. The number of the participants of the qualitative research was five, equivalent to the monolinguals, i.e. a five membered company, constituted of 3 men and 2 women over the age of 25. All the bilinguals, except one, had at least one, or both parents being Greek who immigrated into Hungary in the 40s and in the 50s, escaping from the Greek civil war.³⁴ The immigrant parents' children, participating in the research subsequently, were born in Hungary, who were exposed to Greek language stimuli from their childhood, not only spontaneously at their homes, but institutionally, both in kindergarten and the primary school education as well, where the Greek lexemes and the grammar were acquired deliberately: (Alekos, Nikos and Benji in Beloiannis), Diamandula in the colony of Kőbánya, and Eleni in Lőrinc. After leaving primary school they did not receive Greek language education, however, the utterances of either Greek parent at home, or the subculture, the public life, and any Greek minority festivals of Beloiannis village contributed to further Greek language stimuli. There were two men before the graduation of their diplomas in my research, and one skilled worker, and as far as women were concerned, there was one with a diploma, and one, a skilled worker.

Diamandula's family was escaping from the Greek civil war, and arrived in Hungary with the help of the Red Cross. Both her mother and her father were Greek in origin, and got a shelter in the Tobacco Factory of Kőbánya. Diamandula was born in Hungary and lived in a colony "as brothers and sisters" with other Greek refugees – as she remarked. Her family immigrated into Hungary in 1950, where she only started to learn Hungarian at the age of 6, in primary school. She spoke Hungarian fluently by the age of 8. When she left her parents of Greek mother tongue, who had communicated to her in Greek consistently, then married a Hungarian man, and began to work with Hungarians, the use of her Greek language reduced. She still celebrates the Greek holidays in Hungary, i.e. the Greek liberation of March 25th, the "Vasilo pita" celebration (βασιλόπιτα) of January 6th, the Greek Easter, Whitsun, and the celebration of the "Blessed Virgin" (Παναγιά) on the 15th of August. Diamandula is a successive, productive, bicultural, Hungarian dominant bilingual. Apart from the fact, that she feels safe in both languages, and considers herself 50 % Hungarian and 50% Greek, she cannot be regarded as a balanced bilingual, because she can only read appropriately – not excellently – in Greek, and there is also unknown Greek lexis for her, moreover, when she communicates with Greek people living in their homeland, she does not understand everything perfectly.

Despite the fact that Nikos' father is Greek, and his mother is Hungarian, he began to acquire the Hungarian language from his birth. His father also escaped from the Greek civil war and settled down in Hungary. Nikos, at the age of 4, started to learn Greek in the kindergarten of Beloiannis, subsequently, in the primary school institutionally, where he was brought up in a Greek minority. Considering the Greek father and the Hungarian mother constellation, the parents did not persist in the "one parent, one language" principal consequently, they rather communicated in a mixed way. The family considered the mixed strategy more ethical and fair towards the other family members. He celebrates the Greek national holidays and Easter as well. He also plays the bouzouki in one of the Greek bands. Nikos is a bilingual, first language acquirer, in addition a simultaneous, compound, bicultural, Hungarian dominant bilingual, since he was exposed to both languages from his early childhood; yet, it is the Hungarian language, which he uses the most.

Eleni was also born in Hungary and her father also left Greece because of the civil war. As regards the family constellation, her mother is Hungarian and the father is Greek. Although

³⁴ SIMON 2012.

she was exposed to Greek language by her father from her birth, she considers herself as Hungarian dominant. Her parents did not follow the “one parent, one language” principle. From her infant period, she was a simultaneous bilingual, then the Greek language was devalued from the age of third, due to the education of the Hungarian kindergarten. As a consequence, she became a subtractive bilingual, though the deepening of the Greek and the Hungarian language continued during the primary school period simultaneously again. She celebrates the national Greek holidays and the day of “Vasilo pita” (βασιλόπιτα) and “Ohi” (Οχι) in October, together with the Greek Easter. Eleni was a bicultural simultaneous bilingual, then became a subtractive bilingual aftermath. Subsequently, she became a simultaneous, Hungarian dominant, compound bilingual.

In case of Benji, the language acquisition background is unique because he lives in a tight knit relationship with minorities, i.e. a massive Greek minority lives in his neighbourhood. Although both of his parents are Hungarian, the family settled down in Beloianisz, where he did not acquire Greek institutionally but with the help of Greek, or Hungarian-Greek bilingual friends. Despite the fact, that his family is Hungarian, he is daily exposed to Greek language in the subculture of Beloianisz, not only because of his Greek friends, but also of the environment of the village. His father was the GP of the village, therefore they settled down there. Benji attended the nearby Hungarian primary school of Iváncsa. Throughout the years, as his circle of friends grew in Beloianisz, he improved Greek language acquisition. Apart from not having Greek roots in his family, he feels 50% Greek, due to the Greek environment. He frequently visits Greek nights in clubs, celebrates the Greek Easter with lamb, and plays with the Greek chess called “tavli” (ταβλι). Benji is a Hungarian dominant, untutored acquirer, and at the same time bicultural, consecutive, community bilingual.

Alekos is a third generation Greek, whose father is Greek. He also lives in Beloianisz, and he studied Greek both in kindergarten, and in the primary school as well. As his mother was Hungarian, the family communicated in a mixed way, and the parents did not resort to the principal of “one parent, one language” consequently. He plays on a Greek instrument, and also participates in Greek festivals. During the discourse, he was the only one who was fidgeting with the “komboloi” (κομπολόι), (string of balls) which is typical of Greek males. This string of balls is frequently seen in the hands of Greek males, sitting in front of their houses or in a café. He also plays the Greek chess “tavli” (ταβλι), and preserves the Greek traditions. Alekos is a bilingual, first language acquirer. He is a simultaneous, compound, bicultural, Hungarian dominant bilingual, as he was exposed to both languages from his early childhood, though it is the Hungarian language, which he uses the most in his everyday life.

Results

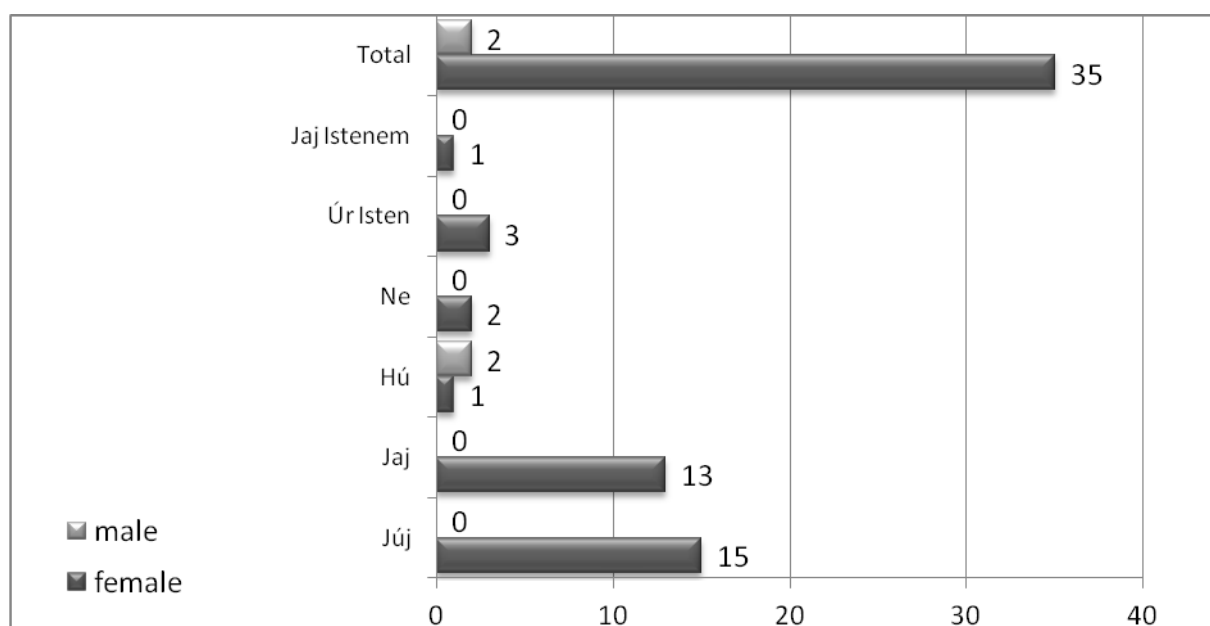
Interjections and Swear Words

In this study I intend to focus on the ratio of syntactical mistakes, interjections and swear words of my corpora, in respect of gender.

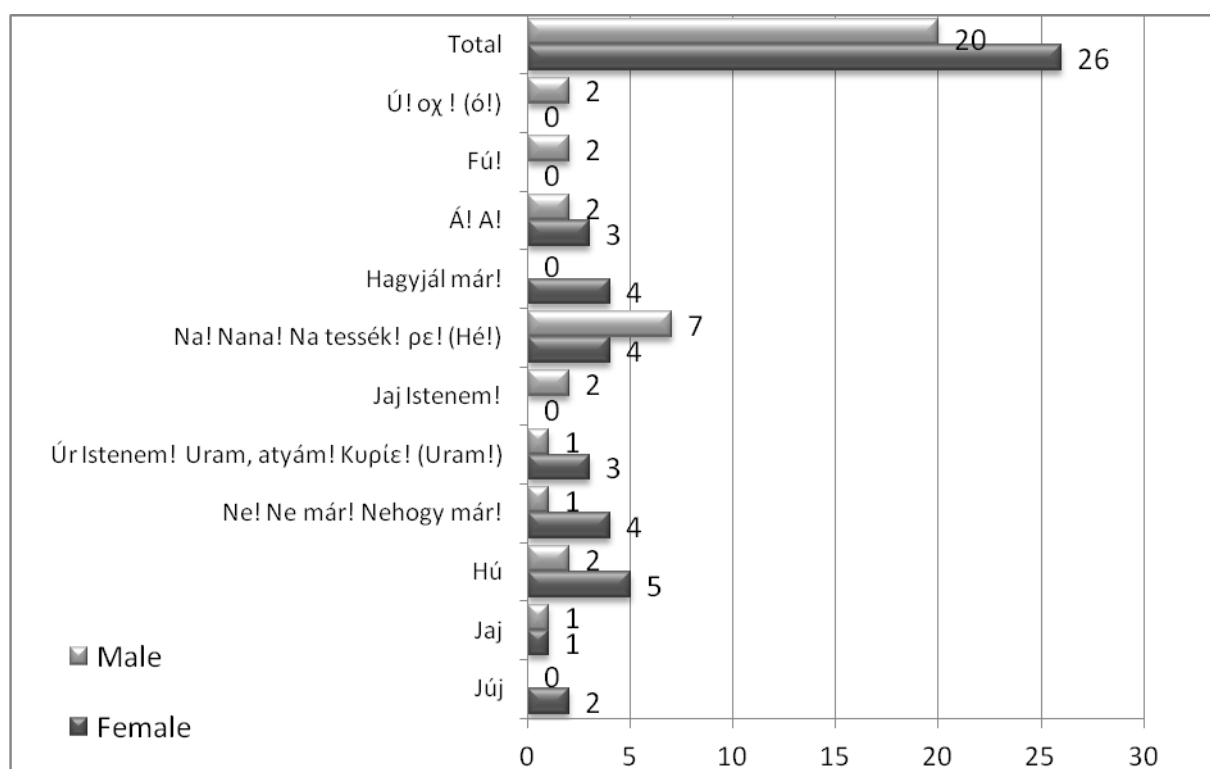
The result of the bilingual corpus, justified the literature³⁵ regarding the fact that women used more interjections than men,³⁶ as it is reflected by the first chart.

³⁵ O’ CONNELL 2004, 29–41.

³⁶ WARDHAUGH 2010.



1. Interjections Used by Monolinguals



2. Interjections Used by Bilinguals

As far as the occurrence of swear words is concerned in gender linguistic literature, *Gomm* analysed the frequency of British speakers' swear words in his 1981 survey. He revealed that men swore three times more among each others, than women did; yet, in mixed company, they swore two times more (Coates, 1993).³⁷

³⁷ COATES 1993.

At the dawn of gender linguistics *Otto Jespersen* claimed, that women were reluctant to use vulgar expressions instinctively, avoidance technique, and sophisticated, implicated speech characterized them. The study of *Flexner* in 1960 pointed out, that most of the slang expressions were created by men and it was basically them, who used it more.

According to the studies of *Lakoff* and *Kramer*, men swear more, and they are more likely to use the expression of: "damned", whereas women tend to use the expression of: "my God", instead.

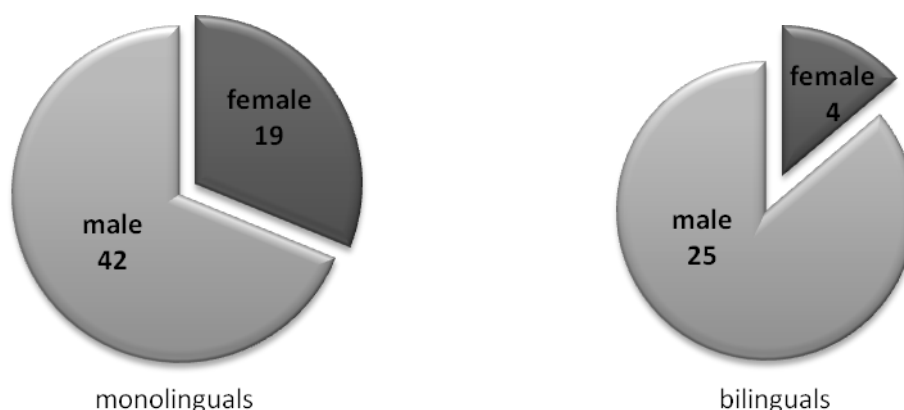
Vincent and *Klerk* had the same conclusion as regards vulgar lexis and obscenity. *Vincent* analysed a 165 hour long tape script in 1982, which had a Québec corpus basis. His analysis disclosed that the elder French men used more swear words, than their women companions. *Klerk's* results highlighted the same results, yet, the only discrepancy was that adolescent boys and girls constituted his corpus.

Considering swearing, women have an outstanding role, in respect of social values. The society expects better behaviour from women, than men. Even boys are given more freedom, and misbehaviour is better tolerated from them, whereas girls are scolded instantly. She pointed out, that a vulgar expression is repellent from a woman, moreover, men are not keen on such woman speech, which is either too pedantic or too vulgar.

Within a community, the rearing of a child is in tight knit connection with the norms, since during his/her social development, everybody tries to acquire the adequate linguistic norms regarding his/her gender. Becoming a man, or a woman, means to acquire the linguistic attitude of our gender.

If we focus on the scene of the Western society, we might state that in the 19th –20th century, the usage of vulgar expression in public concerning women became a taboo, or the usage was associated with strength and masculinity.³⁸

In my bilingual research, men swore more than six times more, than women, as it is reflected in the third chart. Several other researches indicated similar results, since women rather inclined to use euphemised expressions than men, which partially derives from the socialization, and the raising of women, together with the expectation of the society.



3. Swear Words

Syntactical Mistakes

No matter how much we endeavour to keep the standard norms and try to communicate accurately, the spontaneous speech sequences obviously result in disfluency phenomena,

³⁸ HUSZÁR 2009.

hesitations, incorrect word choice, grammatical mistakes, contamination, perseverations, anticipation, blends, malapropism, metathesis, spoonerism and other mistakes, deriving from lapsus linguae. Since the participants were bilinguals, the frequency of the syntactical mistakes is more striking. In this case, the code switching was within the sentence, or between sentences, and it logically fitted the basis language, and did not alter the meaning, for this reason I did not consider it a syntactical mistake.

Under the concept of syntactical mistakes, we mean those phenomena, that contradict the current, standard, codified grammar.³⁹ They comprise such disfluency phenomena which contain all forms of uncertainties, concerning the speaker's speech planning and production (Gósy, 2002).⁴⁰ These manifestations are reflected in restarting, contamination and in several hedges. Considering the usage of non-standard language use in respect of gender, *Trudgill*, examined the occurrence of double negation regarding gender in the speech of lower middle class and working class in Detroit. The research suggests, that 32% of males, coming from lower middle class used double negation, whereas, the females' usage was only 1%. In case of the working class, 90% of males tended to use double negation, as opposed to the 59% of females.⁴¹

During the change of the former political regime in Hungary, *Miklós Kontra* accomplished a meta-analysis constituted of 832 informants. The informants were asked to provide grammatical judgement about certain grammatical structures, in addition, they also had speech production. From the aspect of the result concerning gender, he found that the linguistic judgement does not only depend on education and settlement, but also on gender. He highlighted the Hungarian lexeme „hijába”, which was corrected by removing the „j” phoneme by the 78% of young females, whereas, only 62% of males regarded this phoneme grammatically incorrect.⁴² He indicated significant gender bound phenomenon, when judging the standard form of stigmatised second conditional, in first person singular (nák) among females. He also highlighted the females' better grammatical judgement towards „suk-sük”, „az miatt”, and the conjugation of first person singular /k/.

The sentences enumerated above are examples for non-standard, syntactically incorrect sentences, the interpretation of which can be deduced from the context. We should not neglect the natural consequences of spontaneous speech sequences, deriving from fast speech procedures, grabbing the floor and competitive style.

When producing syntactical mistakes, the bilinguals broke the rules of Greek grammar in respect of using incorrect noun-adjective and article concord, mixed continuous and immediate verbal forms and redundancy. They did not use the weak pronoun and the passive voice, they created new expressions by incorrect analogy. The concord of pronouns of tag questions and weak pronoun was incorrect, they chose the wrong preposition, omitted the subjunctive, used wrong word order, restarted, repeated, or discontinued some sentences. Despite these grammatical mistakes, all of their utterances and sentences could be interpreted in each context. Note, that apart from their appropriate Greek language knowledge, none of the participants were balanced bilingual, they were rather Hungarian dominant bilinguals. No wonder, they made several syntactical mistakes. Despite their fluent Greek communication, their grammatical judgement in Greek language was insecure and they used grammatically incorrect sentences in most cases.

Syntactically incorrect sentences from the bilingual corpus:

³⁹ GÓSY 2004.

⁴⁰ GÓSY 2002, 193–203.

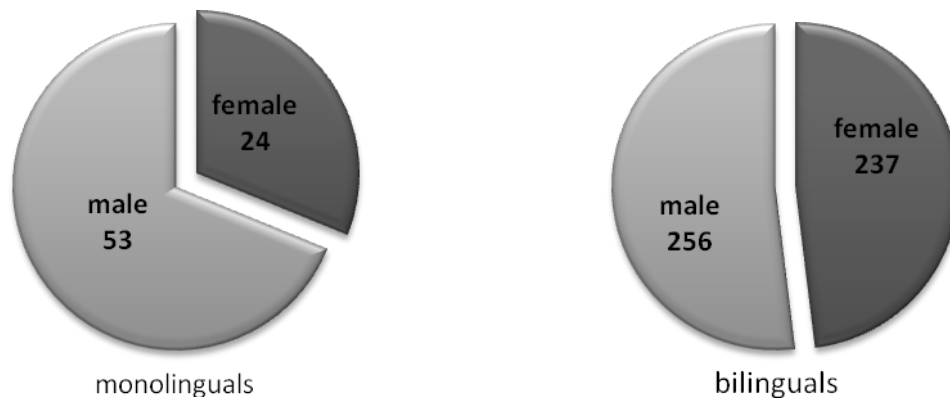
⁴¹ COATES 1993.

⁴² KONTRA 2003.

- The use of incorrect article:
- *Μέχρι τη μεσάνυχτα.* (*Till midnight.*)
- Jumbled word structure by incorrect analogy:
- *Φαρμακό είναι* (*There is a "pharmacy".*)
- The absence of noun-adjective concord and redundancy:
- *Νησιώτικα είναι. Νησιώτικα.* (*Dance from the island. From the island. From the island.*)
- The absence of weak pronoun:
- *Και επίσης και ξέρεις* (*And you know that.*)
- The absence of article:
- *Αυτό είναι story.* (*This is story.*)
- The absence of predicate:
- *But in this world, this, with such hints.*
- The lack of neuter form used by adverbs:
- *Λίγη μακριά είναι όμως θα ήθελα* (*It's a little bit far, but I'd like to.*)
- Wrong use of adverbs:
- *Εδώ καλό ακούγεται.* (*It sounds good here.*)
- The avoidance of immediate form:
- *Να περάσετε καλά. Αυτό είναι.* (*To feel good. That's it.*)
- Incorrect concord of gender, plural and pronoun:
- *Ο δικός μου τρία* (*Mine is three.*)
- The avoidance of the concord of tag and weak pronouns:
- *Το βλέπω τα πράγματα* (*I can see things.*)
- Wrong preposition:
- *Στο χωριό μιλάτε;* (*Are you talking about the village?*)
- The lack of verb:
- *Εδώ ο μάγειρας.* (*Here is the cook.*)
- The absence of subjunctive:
- *Το όνομα το πεις.* (*Tell me the name.*)
- Wrong genitive:
- *Είκοσι τέσσερα.* (*Twenty four.*)
- Incorrect use of nominative case:
- *Τον πατέρα μου Βαγγέλης κι ο ξάδερφός μου Βαγγέλης.* (*My father Vangelisz, and my cousin Vangelis.*)
- Wrong word order:
- *Ελληνικά τέτοια τραγούδια.* (*Such Greek songs.*)
- Incorrect use of conditionals:
- *όταν θα ακούω τραγούδια, θα τρελαθώ* (*When I hear songs, I get crazy.*)
- Wrong interrogative pronoun:
- *Τι μεγάλο είναι το αμπέλι σας;* (*How big is your vineyard?*)
- Wrong negation:
- *Μη γίνεται στο τραπέζι. Μη γίνεται.* (*You shouldn't do that at table. You shouldn't.*)
- Unfinished sentence:
- *Ο αριθμός, σου λέει.* (*The number tells you..*)
- Restart:
- *So I tell it because, then, just then, we we-went, so as to, just then, he es-escaped there to India, he escaped δηλαδή και (well, and.)*

- The lack of accusative suffix:
- *Γιατί το έκανε one peak. (Because she made a vertex.)*
- The lack of adverbial suffix:
- *Sure, there is such a very big fortress the capital of Tibet.*

The syntactical mistakes are reflected on the 4th chart, which indicates that bilingual males made 19 more syntactical mistakes, yet, the ratio considering the bilingual female results is nearly the same. As we see, monolingual males produced more than two times more syntactical mistakes in their discourse.



4. Syntactical Mistakes

Conclusion

My hypothesis and expectations were justified by the results concerning less discrepancies in case of the bilinguals. When analysing the diversity of interjections, the proportion between the monolingual females and males is 17 times more (2:35) to females. This difference is striking, from the aspect of their less participation in the spontaneous discourse, as males grabbed the floor and outtalked females with their competitive style. The ratio of the interjections concerning bilinguals is 20:26, which is a slight difference as compared to the monolinguals. This proportion supports the expectation of less linguistical discrepancies in case of bilinguals. Bilingual males, using 26, monolingual males using 2 interjections, reflect cultural anthropological origin as well. Greek roots are manifested in verbal heat, intensity, more emotions and impulsive reactions,⁴³ no wonder that Greek-Hungarian males produced 18 times more interjections, than that of their Hungarian male counterparts.⁴⁴ The monolingual females used 15 more interjections, than the bilingual ones.

Considering swear words, monolingual males produced nearly two times more than the bilinguals (42:25), moreover, monolingual females produced nearly five times more, than the bilingual ones, therefore, cultural anthropological factors should also be taken into consideration. Religiousness is an essential factor for the Greek. There were many hints in the corpus, concerning the religiousness of Greek participants – pilgrimage to Camino, their relationship with God – and at the same time, the religious and ethical upbringing of male participants – celebrating Greek Easter – and in addition, their excuses, after using swear words, all justify their religiousness: „You mustn’t talk in such way at the table, just on

⁴³ MACKRIDGE 1992.

⁴⁴ VASSILIOU et al. 1972, 89–115.

plough-land.” No wonder, bilinguals resorted to less swear words. Note, that in both corpora males produced more swear words, which supports the literature.

Most of the literature, having been elaborated by me, referred to females’ more standard use of language, i.e. they persist in the standard norms of grammar and pronunciation, moreover, they use more prestige forms than men. Fischer’s New-England research, *Chesire*, *Eckert*, *Trudgill*, *Coates*, *Eisskovits*, *Labov*, *Gal*, *Gordon*, *Rosenhouse*, *Wardhaugh*, and *Kontra* share this opinion.⁴⁵ Their explanations refer to such factors like: social status and role, subordinate role, keeping respect, the expectation of society,⁴⁶ avoidance of promiscuity, accommodation to linguistic market, female open network, better integration and moving upwards in the hierarchy.⁴⁷ At the same time, they claim the “hidden prestige substandard”, “macho connotation”, “masculinity” and “hidden prestige phenomenon” for females’ less standard language use. The norms of the certain subculture, poorer education, spiritual and physical diversities, sensitivity, group solidarity and the various environment in which the two sexes live and dwell, all crucial factors concerning linguistic divergences.⁴⁸ Syntactical mistakes were made two times more in case of monolingual males, than females (53:24), on the other hand, we can experience slight diversity in case of bilinguals (256:237), where males produced 19 more mistakes. Their overall 493 syntactical mistakes are not so astounding, since they were exposed to mixed language input from their childhood. If we analyse the discrepancy between the same genders in both corpora, it is obvious that the bilingual males produced nearly five times more, the bilingual females, more than nine times more syntactical mistakes than the other monolingual participants of the same gender. The number of syntactical mistakes, which derives from mixed language input and the uncertainty of grammar and recalling of lexis is not astonishing either.

Besides the Hungarian dominance, their Greek language knowledge has become poorer since the institutionalized Greek language education in kindergarten and primary school, despite the fact, that they usually communicate with Greek minority compatriots whenever they have the possibility. The language use of Greek has rarefied within the family, not to mention the Greek language usage in their “homeland”, which occurs once, or only two times a year, when going on holiday, back to their roots. Only Benji, Alekos and Nikos live in endogenous environment in Beloiannis, yet, the use of Hungarian language dominates. They feel more secure, when using the Hungarian language, yet, they try to grab all the opportunities to switch to Greek with a bilingual. The uncertainties, grammatical mistakes and the usage of mixed language elements are quite frequent in the bilingual discourse. In the Greek-Hungarian discourse, the basic code, the basis language, the quantitative and the structural dominance were the Hungarian language. The discourse was unbalanced, and during the interactions, basis change also occurred. Since bilinguals with the same ethnicity and language communicated in the discourse, code switchings were frequent and the language control mitigated. At the same time, the guest language elements integrated into the whole manifestation, with the help of the grammatical morphemes of the basis language.

Nonetheless, the ratio of bilingual syntactical mistakes in respect of gender is insignificant, as compared to the two times more difference regarding monolinguals, less linguistic discrepancies were justified not only on syntactic level, but in all the above discussed elements concerning gender.

⁴⁵ ROSENHOUSE 1998, 123–151.

⁴⁶ CHESIRE 1991.

⁴⁷ ECKERT 1989, 185–201.

⁴⁸ SIMON 2011.

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